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575 In rural areas, organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class and occupational lines. When landlords were forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, organized peasants and tenants at times became so powerful that they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

467 Among the artisans and workers in China there were for generations both craft guilds (hangs) and regional guilds (pangs). As in Europe, these guilds were not intended to serve the interests of workers as a class but to promote the crafts and guard their monopoly and trade secrets. Both employers and employees were members, but the employers usually dominated the guilds' activities.[7]

484 Another kind of association existed to serve travellers, who were usually merchants, in cities outside their home county or province.

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7. Nym Wales, The Chinese Labor Movement, New York, The John Day Company, 1945, p. 7.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
~~AF15~~ AF15

484 These associations, t'ung-hsiang hui, were organized on a county or provincial basis. By maintaining buildings and personnel in distant cities they facilitated the dealings of their constituents who might have language or other difficulties.

•575 Most significant and disturbing to the social structure were the secret societies. They were, in fact, hierarchical societies within a society. A notable example was the Ko-lao Hui, which was also called Hung-pang in the Central-South Region. The bulk of the membership of this secret society was drawn from the unemployed in the rural areas and organized under strict and severe discipline. They were instructed to rob the rich, to help the poor, to rescue the oppressed, and to overthrow Manchu rule. Leadership of the society, however, was in the hands of the landlord class. The Ko-lao Hui became such a strong underworld force that Sun Yat-sen had to solicit its co-operation in his endeavor to overthrow the Manchu dynasty. After the fall of the Manchu regime, many warlords of North China obtained power by way of the Ko-lao Hui hierarchy and by utilizing its mass followings.[8]

8. Ko-lao Hui and Ch'ing-pang, Hsi-pei Yen-chiu She, 1941.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
AF15

• 515 While societies like the Ko-lao Hui aimed at the overthrow of the existing order, others like the Ch'ing-pang were utilized by the Manchu government to prolong its power by extralegal means. The Ch'ing-pang was originally organized among the boatsmen and the urban unemployed along the Grand Canal and the Yangtze River. It later spread to big cities and gained recruits among the city poor, handicraftsmen, apprentices, industrial workers, policemen, shopkeepers, the self-employed, and even the civil servants. Ch'ing-pang organizations dominated the underworld of East China while Ko-lao Hui branches dominated other regions of China, especially the South and the Northwest. The Ch'ing-pang's highly organized strength provided a strong bargaining position for the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-45 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to route Communist underground agents.[9]

178 ## II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Just as the scholar ideal and the family

9 Ibid., pp. 64-65.

national holidays were increasingly observed -- and like the town dwellers city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes arrangements for mutual-aid. Secret societies provided another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals passports and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through assosi ation with an insurance against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong even between the large modern cities and the farm villages. The ways of life tended increasingly to diverge yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which even when change has been accounted for held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases -- all give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in

779 folk religion -- in recent years the resort only of the aged and the ignorant -- will long survive the campaigns being waged against them.

575 Another Taoist-linked institution is the secret society. These organizations have traditionally drawn their rituals, liturgies, doctrines, and patron deities from religious and folk Taoism. They have had a variety of social and political functions: they provide, especially in times of disorder, a closely knit confraternity from which the member can draw help and security. They offer a focus of social and religious life particularly appealing to those who travel beyond the limits of their local kinship groups. Throughout the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), many secret societies had a strong political function as a focus of anti-dynastic and anti-official sentiment and activity; they made a notable contribution to the victory of the republicans in 1911. Yet Sun Yat-sen found them unmanageable political allies, and by 1930 Chiang Kai-shek -- despite whatever support he may have derived from them in his seizure of power in 1927 -- began to campaign against them.[33] This was interrupted by his campaigns against the Communists and his preparations to resist the Japanese.

The Communist regime obviously will not tolerate any such closed, self-supporting, potentially subversive groups, and a series of campaigns has been carried out against them. At the end of a major drive in 1953, P'eng Chen reported that "four million duped members had

33. Cf. B. Favre, Les sociétés secrètes en Chine, Paris, 1933, p. 177.

576 withdrawn from these reactionary sects and societies and that the battle was essentially won."[34] That his claims of victory were premature is suggested by a recent report of the dissolution of five secret society organizations in the vicinity of Kalgan. The report accused the societies of elaborate clandestine organizations, hidden headquarters, an elaborate hierarchy of leadership, and efforts to infiltrate Communist organizations.[35] (The societies' power of resistance are discussed in the chapter on Subversive Potentialities.)

Secret societies have been particularly numerous in North China, but those which have had important followings in East China might be mentioned here:

1. Hung-ch'iang hui. The Society of Red-spears, an offshot of Pai-lien-chiao the White Lotus Society. Once powerful in the north, since 1924 it has been active in Hupeh, Hunan, Szechwan, and -- in the East China Region -- in Kiangsu.[36]

2. Ta-tao hui. The Society of the Big Sword. another branch of the White Lotus Society. Founded in Shantung late in the last dynasty, it sought to protect its members from official oppression; it also was anti-Christian and destroyed a number of churches. Especially strong in southern Shantung where it is said to have had a million members.[37]

34. NCNA dispatch, Sept. 18, 1953, quoted in Walker, China Under Communism, p. 189.

35. NCNA, June 16, 1955; SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

36. Chan, op. cit., pp. 158-59; Encyclopedia of China Problems, p. 480.

37. Chan, op. cit., pp. 158-59.

575 3. Tsai-li hui. Principle Abiding Society. Its strength was in the north, mainly in the cities Strong in Shantung, often the object of government suppression. Social composition: mostly artisans and laborers, some farmers and merchants, a few intellectuals.[38]

4. San-ho, San-tien, T'ien-ti, or T'ien-li hui. The Triad Society, founded in Fukien in 1647, committed to opposition to Manchu rule. Spread to Kwangtung and Kwangsi and among overseas Chinese. Known in the United States as Chih-kung Tong. Took an active part in the revolution of Sun Yat-sen.[39]

5. Ko-lao hui. The Society of the Elders. It is somewhat more religious than other societies has a history of resistance to government. Founded in Fukien, has been particularly strong in Central, North, and West China. It is "the most extensive, well-organized, and influential of China's secret societies."[40]

6. I-kuan Tao. The Way of Pervading Unity. Founded soon after the 1911 Revolution, grew rapidly from 1928 on. It gained strength and extended its activities during World War II, especially in Japanese-occupied territory. It was ordered suppressed by the National Government, and its activities may have been somewhat reduced.[41]

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38. Chan, op. cit., pp. 156-57.
39. Chan, op. cit., pp. 159-60.
40. Ibid., pp. 160-61.
41. Ibid., pp. 166-67; Willem Grootaers, "Une société secrète moderne, I-koan Tao, bibliographie annotée," Folklore Studies, Vol. V, 1946, pp. 316-52.

575 A Communist release on June 16, 1955, indicated that the I-kuan Tao was still a disciplined and resourceful organization, at least in the Kalgan region.[42]

IV. MOHAMMEDANISM

779 This religion was introduced into China, not by missionaries but by immigrants arriving overland from the west and northwest and by sea to Canton; they have since spread until there are some in every province, although the highest concentration is the northwest and southwest. Since their ancestors were immigrants, the Mohammedans have been treated by Chinese governments as both an ethnic minority and a religious group. (Hence, cf. the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Adherents have tended to live in separate communities, their mores and customs [illegible] religious law rather than by the laws and customs of China. Not only did Islam prescribe for the believer a different way of life from that of the Chinese, it also had international connections and a tradition of militancy. These aspects of Mohammedanism made their communities in China the object of government distruct, and governments in modern times have alternated between policies of suppression and of appeasement.

779 563 The Chinese Mohammedan is set apart from other Chinese by such special customs and observances as these: many greetings are exchanged in Arabic or Persian; believers wear

42. SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

687 part of the Wu-hu textile factory was burned to the ground.[31]

Although the Communists optimistically declared the conclusion of the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951, counterrevolutionary activities did not cease in East China. After a lapse of only two years, warnings were repeated by Communist authorities. The convening of the Second Session of the National People's Congress in July-August 1955 reaffirmed the determination of the Communists to renew their campaign against counterrevolutionaries. Shih Liang reported that cases of counterrevolutionary activity were increasing. During 1954, such cases in the nation as a whole accounted for only 1.5 per cent of all criminal cases, but in 1955 the percentage had increased to 4.8.

D. Secret Societies

687 575 That secret societies are rebellious organizations representing resistance to social change determines their fate under Communist rule. Since secret societies, according to the Communists, are apt to be used by the

31. Ibid., p. 2.

687 Kuomintang and other "foreign" elements for
●575 acts of counterrevolution, they should be regarded as counterrevolutionary elements.

The East China Region, because of its complicated social organization, is a natural birthplace for secret societies. More than forty major secret societies in East China have been outlawed,[32] and the most active secret societies, I Kuan Tao, Chiu Kung Tao, Lao Mu Tao, Ta Tao Hui, T'ien Men Tao, and Fo Chiao Hui, have become the main target of Communist suppression campaigns.

Leaders of secret societies were accused of counterrevolutionary activity and the societies were forced to disband. In 1950 in the province of Shantung,[33] 502 leaders were jailed, 2,425 members were registered, and 725 meeting places were destroyed. More than 100,000 members were forced to withdraw. Similar conditions were reported in North Anhwei where, in the same year, 30,000 members withdrew from secret societies.[34] The great number of withdrawals suggests how strong the

32. Liberation Daily, July 15, 1951, p. 1.
33. Ibid., March 18, 1951, p. 3.
34. Ibid., Jan. 28, 1951, p. 3.

687 influence of secret societies must have been.
575 These societies will not be easily eliminated even in areas where the Communists have ruled the longest.

While the Land Reform Movement was used to destroy the secret societies in the rural districts, various measures to achieve similar objectives were taken in the cities. The case of Wang Sung-t'ao[35] was publicized as an example of an individual charged with being both the leader of a secret society and a spy. Many such leaders were either arrested or evacuated to the rural areas as "despots and gangsters."

687 575 467 Still another suppressive measure taken by the Communists was directed at certain labor organizations where the influence of secret societies was the strongest. Secret societies controlled labor organizations such as Ch'ing Pang, Hung Pang, I Kuan Tao, Huang Niu Tang, Ti Hsüeh T'uan, and Lao Kun Tzu. In Shanghai alone 73 of these organizations were known to exist.[36] To eliminate their influence, the Communists placed these labor organizations under state-owned companies established in this region.[37] Wheelbarrow and

35. Ibid., April 12, 1951, p. 2.
36. Ibid., Sept. 19, 1951, p. 2.
37. Directive on the East China Military and Political Committee, ibid., Aug. 30, 1951, p. 1.

687 rickshaw pullers, stevedores, longshoremen,
575 and garbage carriers were organized into
467 unions under strict Communist control. The organization of these service-men was a business transaction between the private owner and the state, similar to that of the "democratic reform movement" in all labor organizations. Three distinct steps were taken: working teams were organized and mass sentiment was aroused for the destruction of "feudal" systems and reactionary elements; preparations were made for the organization of moving companies; and finally the organization and consolidation of all moving companies was completed. During the first stage, the old trade union leaders and the "feudal" bosses were tried, and the activists were encouraged. The qualifications of the workers were checked; "undesirables" were either forced to change their occupations or were evacuated to the rural areas. And finally, qualified workers were organized under new leadership into companies and battalions similar to that of the army.

687 Despite the various measures taken by
575 the Communists, secret societies continued to flourish. Recent reports indicate that their activities are spreading to other parts of China. In the county of Ho-tse, Shantung Province, seven self-styled "emperors" of secret societies were reported active during 1954. Although secret societies base their philosophy on superstition and have often incorporated into their rituals many harmful practices,

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
AF15

687 in today's world, when the individual feels his
575 identity threatened, the appeal of ritual to a depressed people cannot be underestimated.

II. CORRUPTION, WASTE AND THEFT

A. Corruption

661 In large cities and business centers in
687 the East China Region corruption flourishes. Immediately after the seizure of power in urban areas, the Communists launched a series of campaigns against corruption, involving bribery, embezzlement, and misappropriation of funds. Jao Shu-shih, chairman of the East China Military and Political Committee, in his speech at the launching of the Three-Anti Campaign in December 1951, revealed how seriously corruption threatened the East China Region.[38] From January to November 1951, some 179 corruption cases, involving a total of 288 billion yuan (US$ 14,400,000) were brought before the People's courts and the People's procuratorates in the East China Region. Other charges of corruption, involving 1,242 billion yuan (US$ 62,100,000) were tried from June 1950 to November 1951 by the People's Control Commission of the East China Military

38. Full text, ibid., Dec. 30, 1951, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 15 East China
AF15

V. MASS ORGANIZATIONS AS MEDIA OF PUBLIC INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA

The Communists are fond of using the word "network" for all activities pertaining to public information and propaganda. Already discussed in this study are the news-gathering network, radio network, library and book-distribution network, the motion-picture-showing and cultural-center network. Included in the Communist term of "cultural network," however, are many mass organizations, all contributing to the over-all public information, education, and propaganda scheme.[58]

One of these organizational networks is the Sino-Russian Friendship Association. Established on October 5, 1949, in Peking, this organization expanded rapidly and by February 1952 had 64,200 large and small branches with a total membership[59] of 23,000,000. Under the over-all direction of Liu Shao-chi, whose position in the Party hierarchy is said to be second only to that of Mao Tse-tung, this association through its omnipresent branches organizes, indoctrinates, and propagandizes people of all professional strata. The daily contribution to public information and propaganda takes the form of group discussions and meetings.

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58. A list of 96 such national mass organizations is found in People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 7-8.

59. People's Handbook, 1952, p. 258.

203 208 575 At these small group gatherings, Soviet theories and practices are discussed. When there is a national propaganda campaign, the association mobilizes all its branches to give concerted support to the government. These mass organizations have their own "cultural departments," which in reality are information and propaganda units. Altogether the "cultural network" of an average size hsien may easily contain 4,000 units, with over 30,000 people actively participating.[60] When applied to cities like Shanghai and Nanking in East China, these figures are but moderate estimates.

V. PERSONAL CONTACT

203 208 Any study of public information and propaganda in Communist China would be greatly amiss if it discounted the importance of personal contact. This particular medium of communication is essential to the Communist public information and propaganda scheme, and it works most effectively in a country like China where 80 per cent of the population is illiterate.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on January 1, 1951, issued a directive on the "Establishment of a Propaganda Network Aimed at the Masses." The directive points out that" (a) in the past propaganda work has been neglected; no permanent

60 Chao Ts'ung, op. cit., p. 36.